

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 183493
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S E C R E T STATE 183493

FOR UNDER-SECRETARY NEWSOM

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: OVIP (NEWSOM, DAVID), XA

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: JOURNIAC TALKS, JULY 21

1. ISSUES: NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA

NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA CABLES ARE BEING TRANSMITTED SEPARATELY.

2. ISSUE: GISCARD FUND

SEE STATE EXDIS 18053(SENT TO PARIS FOR MOOSE 17 JULY)
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 183493

FOR BACKGROUND AND TALKING POINTS. WE HAVE NO INFORMATION
ON POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS BY THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY IN
BONN OR UNDERSECRETARY COOPER IN PARIS.

3. ISSUE: ANGOLA/ZAIRE RECONCILIATION

US OBJECTIVE: TO IMPRESS ON JOURNIAC THE IMPORTANCE WE
ATTACH TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA
AS THE KEY TO THE SECURITY AND ECONOMY OF SHABA AND THAT
FURTHER EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE TO ANGOLAN DISSIDENT GROUPS

CAN DISRUPT THIS PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION.

FRENCH OBJECTIVE: TO OBTAIN OUR VIEWS ON THE BRAZZAVILLE MEETING AND ON THE KINDS OF ASSISTANCE WE ARE PREPARED

TO OFFER IN IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS:

-- AT THEIR MEETINGS JULY 15-17 AT BRAZZAVILLE UNDER CONGOLESE CHAIRMANSHIP, ZAIRIAN AND ANGOLAN DELEGATIONS, REACHED AGREEMENT ON THREE MAJOR ISSUES IN REGARD TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS: (A) CREATION OF A VERIFICATION COMMISSION UNDER OAU AUSPICES TO SUPERVISE IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS REACHED; (B) VOLUNTARY EXCHANGE OF REFUGEES UNDER THE DIRECTION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS; AND (C) RE-OPENING OF THE BENGUELA RAILWAY.

-- THE ATMOSPHERE WAS SUPRISINGLY GOOD THROUGHOUT THE SESSIONS. TECHNICAL LEVEL SPECIALISTS WILL RETURN TO BRAZZAVILLE JULY 21 AND HEADS OF DELEGATION JULY 22 FOR THE FORMAL SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT.

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 183493

-- REPORTEDLY ANGOLA HAS CHOSEN NIGERIA AND CAMEROON FOR THE VERIFICATION COMMISSION WHILE ZAIRE HAS SELECTED THE SUDAN AND RWANDA.

-- THE US ROLE CONSISTED IN SHUTTling A DEPARTMENT OF STATE OFFICIAL AMONG THE THREE CAPITALS TO PASS MESSAGES AND GENERALLY TO FACILITATE CONTACT AND TO COUNSEL A FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE. THIS HAS BEEN A LOW-KEY EFFORT AND THUS FAR OUR ROLE HAS NOT SURFACED PUBLICLY.

POINTS TO BE MADE;

-- WE ARE PLEASED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE AGREEMENT ZAIRE AND ANGOLA REACHED AT THEIR BRAZZAVILLE MEETINGS JULY 15-17.

-- THIS REPRESENTS AN ACT OF STATESMANSHIP AND COURAGE ON THE PART OF PRESIDENTS MOBUTU AND NETO, AND WE ARE GRATEFUL TO PRESIDENT YHOMBY-OPANGO AND HIS GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR MEDIATION EFFORTS.

-- CLEARLY, OVER THE LONGER TERM, A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT WITH ANGOLA IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SECURITY AND ECONOMY OF SHABA AND ZAIRE AS A WHOLE.

-- THERE ARE ALSO OTHER, EARLIER SIGNS THAT ARE ENCOURAGING: (A) WE HAVE INDICATIONS THAT THE MPLA HAS DISARMED

ZAIRIAN REFUGEES AND IS MOVING THEM AWAY FROM THE BORDER;
AND (B) MOBUTU HAS ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO TREAT
DISAFFECTED SHABANS EQUITABLY AND GRANT THEM AMNESTY UNDER
UNHCR SUPERVISION.

-- COMING ON THE HEELS OF SWAPO'S AGREEMENT TO THE WEST-
ERN PLAN FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA, THE BRAZ-
ZAVILLE ACCORD OFFERS IMPROVED PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND
STABILITY IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, IF EFFECTIVELY
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 183493

IMPLEMENTED.

-- IF BOTH THE NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT AND THE BRAZZAVILLE
AGREEMENT ARE ADHERED TO THIS SHOULD ALSO GO A LONG WAY
IN REMOVING ANGOLA'S PUBLIC RATIONALE FOR THE PRESENCE OF
A LARGE CUBAN MILITARY FORCE--EXTERNAL THREATS FROM ZAIRE
AND NAMIBIA--AND COULD BE KEY TO AN EVENTUAL DRAW-DOWN
OF CUBAN COMBAT FORCES IN ANGOLA.

-- MUCH WILL DEPEND IN THE CASE OF ZAIRE AND ANGOLA ON
(A) NEUTRAL SUPERVISION OF BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER, (B)
LIMITATION OF CROSS-BORDER INCURSIONS AND (C) CESSATION
OF SUPPORT FOR DISSIDENT MOVEMENTS OPERATING ON BOTH SIDES
OF THE BORDER.

-- IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IN PARTICULAR, EXTERNAL AS-
SISTANCE TO OPPOSITIONIST FORCES ON EITHER SIDE OF THE
BORDER COULD UPSET THE VERY DELICATE PROCESS OF NEGOTIA-
TION AND RECONCILIATION JUST BEGUN.

-- ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN APPROACHED, WE WOULD GIVE
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO ANY REASONABLE REQUESTS FOR
SUPPORT FOR THE VERIFICATION COMMISSION OR IN REPATRIATING
REFUGEES.

-- (IF ASKED): WE HAVE TAKEN NO NEW DECISION ON ESTA-
BLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OR AN OFFICIAL PRESENCE
IN ANGOLA. WE REMAIN CONCERNED WITH THE HEAVY CUBAN COM-
BAT PRESENCE IN ANGOLA AND THE EVIDENT WIDE-SPREAD IN-
TERNAL DISSIDENCE, BOTH OF WHICH CONTINUE TO RAISE SERIOUS
QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TRUE REPRESENTATIVE NATURE
OF THE LUANDA REGIME. HOWEVER, ANGOLA'S CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE
IN OBTAINING SWAPO AGREEMENT TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ON
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 183493

NAMIBIA, AND HER CURRENT ATTITUDE VIS-A-VIS ZAIRE ARE
POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS AND WE PLAN TO KEEP OUR DIALOGUE
WITH LUANDA ACTIVE.

US OBJECTIVES: TO KEEP THE FOCUS IN ZAIRE ON REFORM AND ON THE MULTI-GOVERNMENTAL POLICY EFFORT DESIGNED TO PROMOTE SUCH REFORM; TO SPEAK FRANKLY WITH OUR ALLIES CONCERNING THE SITUATION THERE AND THE CONTINUING NEED TO MAINTAIN A UNITED FRONT.

FRENCH OBJECTIVE: TO ASCERTAIN US INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO ZAIRE.

A. COORDINATION WITH OUR ALLIES

ESSENTIAL FACTORS:

EXCEPTING INDIVIDUAL BILATERALS, WE HAVE NOT MET WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES ON ZAIRE SINCE THE BRUSSELS AND OECD MEETINGS IN MID-JUNE. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT OUR CAREFULLY STRUCTURED POLICY SCENARIO REMAIN FINELY TUNED AND THAT INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS NOT STRIKE OUT ON THEIR OWN. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE BELGIANS HAVE BEEN APPARENT FROM THE START, AND REMAIN POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE, ESPECIALLY ON THE QUESTIONS OF THE PAN AFRICAN FORCE, PARTICIPATION IN THE REVITALIZATION OF KOLWEZI, AND FRENCH SUPPORT FOR UNITA. WITH MUCH MORE AT STAKE COMMERCIALY AND ECONOMICALLY, BOTH BELGIUM AND FRANCE APPEAR TO BE WILLING TO SETTLE FOR LESS THAN WE REQUIRE IN THE WAY OF ACTUAL REFORM.

-- IN YOUR MEETING WITH JOURNIAC YOU WILL WISH TO SECURE THE CONTINUING COMMITMENT OF THE GOF TO THE POLICY SCENARIO AND THE REFORM PROPOSALS WHICH WERE CONTAINED IN THE FIVE POWER DEMARCHE TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU.

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 183493

POINTS TO BE MADE:

-- WE ARE CONCERNED AS THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS PASSES THAT OUR JOINT COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL REFORM NOT BE REDUCED.

-- AS AGREED AT THE BRUSSELS MEETING, WE ARE MAKING THE LEVEL AND DISBURSEMENT OF OUR ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE DEPENDENT ON ITS PERFORMANCE--NOTABLY ITS ESTABLISHMENT OF A 3-MONTH FOREIGN EXCHANGE PROGRAM, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IMF STABILIZATION PROGRAM AND POLITICAL REFORMS.

-- WE RECOGNIZE THAT SUCCESS REQUIRES A CONTINUING RE-COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF THE DONOR NATIONS TO THE POINTS WE AGREED UPON IN PARIS AND BRUSSELS AND SUBSEQUENTLY PRESENTED TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU.

B. ZAIRIAN COMMITMENT TO REFORM

ESSENTIAL FACTORS: MOBUTU'S INITIAL REACTION TO THE FIVE POWER DEMARCHE WAS NOT ENCOURAGING. NONETHELESS, FROM THIS SLOW START HE HAS MOVED FASTER THAN ANTICIPATED ON KEY ASPECTS OF THE REFORM SCENARIO. FIRST, HE CONFIRMED GOZ INTENT TO IMPLEMENT MANY OF THE ECONOMIC REFORMS WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AT BRUSSELS. SECOND, ALTHOUGH HE INITIALLY MADE NO CONCESSIONS ON INTERNATIONAL POLICIAL ISSUES, ON JUNE 24 PRESIDENT MOBUTU OFFERED A GENERAL

AMNESTY TO ALL ZAIRIAN DISSIDENTS IN AFRICA, ENDED THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN SHABA PROVINCE, AND VOWED TO CURB THE ABUSES OF SOLDIERS, POLICE AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AGAINST THE CITIZENRY. THE AMNESTY WAS SUBSEQUENTLY EXTENDED TO SEVERAL POLITICAL PRISONERS INCLUDING FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER NGUZA KARL-I-BOND.

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 183493

NONE OF THE REMAINING US ASSISTANCE FOR ZAIRE IN FISCAL YEAR 1978 HAS YET BEEN RELEASED, AND WE HAVE HELD UP SIGNING THE FY 78 PL-480 AGREEMENT. OUR ASSISTANCE IS DEPENDENT UPON SPECIFIC REFORMS SUCH AS THE THREE-MONTH FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET AGREED ON AT BRUSSELS.

POINTS TO BE MADE:

-- MOBUTU APPEARS TO BE FAIRLY SERIOUS ABOUT IMPLEMENTING PROPOSED REFORMS, AS THE AMNESTY WOULD INDICATE.

-- WE ARE WATCHING, HOWEVER, TO SEE THAT ZAIRE'S ACTIONS IN THIS REGARD CORRESPOND WITH THE RHETORIC.

-- WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF HIS INTENTIONS?

ESSENTIAL FACTORS:

THE PAN AFRICAN FORCE (PAF) IN ZAIRE'S SHABA PROVINCE UNDER THE COMMAND OF MOROCCAN COLONEL LOUBARIS, EFFECTIVELY EXERCISES CONTROL THROUGHOUT THE TROUBLED AREA. WITH CONTINGENTS STATIONED IN THE CHIEF MINING CENTERS, THE FORCE PATROLS OUT TO A PERIMETER OF 60 KILOMETERS. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN ANY CONTACT WITH REBEL ELEMENTS, THE FORCE SHOULD BE ABLE TO ADEQUATELY PROTECT SOUTHERN SHABA TOWNS FROM ANY ATTACK.

FOLLOWING INITIAL DISARRAY, THE FIVE-NATION 2500 MAN FORCE NOW APPEARS TO BE WELL ORGANIZED UNDER A CENTRAL COMMAND STRUCTURE. MOST CONTINGENTS HAVE AMPLE EQUIPMENT. MOROCCO IS PROVIDING RATIONS FOR THE TROOPS WHO NOW HAVE A TWO MONTH SUPPLY ON HAND. HOWEVER, NO TIME LIMIT ON THE DURATION OF THE PAF MISSION IN SHABA HAS BEEN SET. THE COMMANDER BELIEVES THE TROOPS WILL STAY AS LONG AS ZAIRE NEEDS THEM, WITHIN REASON.

SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 183493

WITHIN THE SUPERVISED AREA, THE PAF HAS ESTABLISHED AN INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM DESIGNED TO HELP PREVENT ANOTHER KOLWEZI STYLE ATTACK. THE FORCE HAS FOUND THE CIVILIAN POPULATION MUCH MORE SYMPATHETIC AND COOPERATIVE THAN WAS THE CASE FOLLOWING SHABA I LAST YEAR--PARTIALLY, BECAUSE LOUBARIS HAS IMPOSED STRINGENT MEASURES FOR DEALING

WITH STEALING AND LOOTING BY REGULAR ZAIRIAN TROOPS.

THE FRENCH ARE NOT AS INVOLVED IN THE FORCE AS WE THOUGHT THEY WOULD BE. INDEED, THE AFRICAN PARTICIPANTS HAVE CRITICIZED FRANCE FOR ITS FAILURE TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON ITS INITIAL PROMISES. WE HAVE INDICATED TO THE FRENCH THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER A RESUPPLY REQUEST ON BEHALF OF THE FORCE. NO SUCH REQUEST HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO DISCOVER WHAT FRENCH INTENTIONS ARE WITH RESPECT TO THE PAF, AND ESPECIALLY IF WE CAN EXPECT A RESUPPLY REQUEST.

POINTS TO BE MADE:

-- WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE CURRENT DEPLOYMENT AND OPERATION OF THE PAF IN SHABA. IT APPEARS TO BE PROVIDING THE NECESSARY STABILITY FOR THE RESUMPTION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, ESPECIALLY BY CONTROL OF THE ZAIRIAN TROOPS.

-- HOWEVER, OUR INFORMATION ON LOGISTICAL AND OTHER MATTERS CONCERNING THE FORCE IS MINIMAL. WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION THERE? WHAT IS YOUR RELATION TO THE PAF? ARE YOU SUPPLYING IT WITH EQUIPMENT OR ADVISORS? DO YOU ANTICIPATE THAT ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT WILL BE NECESSARY? IF SO, WHAT SORT?

SECRET

PAGE 09 STATE 183493

-- HOW LONG DO YOU ANTICIPATE THAT THE FORCE WILL STAY IN SHABA?

IN ADDITION TO THE FOREGOING, WE ARE HOPING THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE YOU WITH A SUMMARY OF DICK MOOSE'S MEETING WITH JOURNIAC JULY 19.

4. ISSUE: THE OAU AND AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING

US OBJECTIVES: TO ELICIT FRENCH VIEWS ON THE RECENT OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND SUMMIT MEETINGS AND TO ENCOURAGE THEIR SUPPORT FOR IN-COMING OAU CHAIRMAN NIMEYRI'S EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN OAU MEDIATION AND PEACEKEEPING MECHANISMS.

FRENCH OBJECTIVES: TO GET OUR VIEWS OF WHAT TRANSPIRED AT KHARTOUM AND, PERHAPS, RAISE THE ISSUE OF WESTERN SUPPORT FOR A SUB-REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS:

THE OAU KHARTOUM SUMMIT WILL END JULY 21. WE WILL, THEREFORE, NOT HAVE A COMPLETE READ OUT ON THE MAJOR RESOLUTIONS

AND OTHER ACTIONS MANDATED BY THAT BODY. BASED UPON WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT DRAFT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED BY THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, EXPECT ANY UNPLEASANT SURPRISES BECAUSE MOST DIVISIVE ISSUES ARE BEING SWEEPED UNDER THE CARPET.

IN BRIEF, THE OAU IS EXPECTED TO IMPLICITLY ENDORSE CONTINUED US AND OTHER WESTERN INVOLVEMENT IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, TO AVOID SPECIFIC CONDEMNATION OF CUBAN-SOVIET OR WESTERN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT ON THE CONTINENT, AND TO REAFFIRM AFRICAN DEDICATION TO PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION, NON-ALIGNMENT, AND THE SANCITY OF EXISTING NATIONAL FRONTIERS. WE EXPECT NO DRAMATIC ACTION ON CREATION OF NEW OAU MEDIATION OR PEACEKEEPING MECHANISMS.

PAGE 10 STATE 183493

POINTS TO BE MADE:

-- THOUGH THE OAU MEETINGS NOW ENDING IN KHARTOUM WERE DOMINATED BY SOMETIMES HEATED DEBATE ON THE DIVISIVE ISSUE OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION, THE SO-CALL AFRICAN MODERATES WERE CLEARLY IN CONTROL OF THE PROCEEDINGS, PREVENTED AN OPEN SPLIT IN THE ORGANIZATION AND FORESTALLED SPECIFIC CONDEMNATIONS OF ANY OUTSIDE POWERS.

-- WE ARE OBVIOUSLY PLEASED THAT THE OAU APPARENTLY DID NOTHING TO DERAIL WESTERN EFFORTS TO REACH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

-- WE EXPECT THAT THE OAU HAS ENDORSED CONGOLESE MEDIATION OF THE ZAIRE-ANGOLA SITUATION, WHICH WE BELIEVE HAS A GOOD CHANCE OF HELPING HEAD OFF FURTHER INCURSIONS INTO SHABA, AND PUTTING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ON A MORE NORMAL FOOTING.

-- (IF ASKED): WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE PRESENCE OF AN AFRICAN FORCE IN SHABA HAS NOT SURFACED AT THE SUMMIT.

-- WE WERE, OF COURSE, DISAPPOINTED THAT THE OAU CHIEFS OF STATE APPARENTLY TOOK NO SPECIFIC ACTION ON STRENGTHEN-

ING OAU MEDIATION AND PEACEKEEPING MECHANISMS. BUT, WE EXPECT THAT CHAIRMAN MIMYRI WILL WORK QUIETLY TO MEDIATE A NUMBER OF CONFLICTS. IN THIS, HE DESERVES OUR SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT.

SECRET

PAGE 11 STATE 183493

-- (IF ASKED) OUR PUBLIC POSTURE ON THE CONCEPT OF A WIDER PAN-AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE REMAINS VALID. WE WOULD SUPPORT SUCH A FORCE IF IT WERE CREATED BY THE OAU OR STANCTIONED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. IN SUM, WE WANT THE

AFRICANS TO TAKE THE LEAD ON THIS ISSUE IN ORDER TO AVOID FURTHER POLORIZATION ON THE CONTINENT.

5. ISSUE: THE HORN OF AFRICA

US OBJECTIVES: TO CONTINUE OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE FRENCH ON THE HORN SITUATION.

FRENCH OBJECTIVES: TO DETERMINE US INTENTIONS WITH RESPECT TO SOMALIA.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS: EMBASSY PARIS BRIEFED FRENCH FULLY ON OUR HORN POLICY JUNE 29, AND WAS INSTRUCTED TO BRIEF THE QUAI PRIOR TO SIAD'S JULY 11-12 VISIT TO PARIS ON OUR DECISION TO DEFER MILITARY SURVEY TEAM. QUAI OFFICIAL ON JUNE 29 OPINED THAT SOMALIA NEEDED SOME ASSURANCE RE ARMS TO PREVENT DESPERATION TURN-BACK TO SOVIETS, AND ELYSEE AFRICAN ADVISOR JOURNIAC TOLD EMBASSY PARIS JULY 13 THAT FRENCH WERE EXAMINING ARMS SHOPPING LIST PROVIDED BY SIAD THOUGH FRANCE COULD NOT PROVIDE "ANYTHING BUT DEFENSIVE ARMS" TO SOMALIA WHILE OGADEN CONFLICT CONTINUES. WE THUS PRESUME FRENCH ARE CONSIDERING SOME ARMS SUPPLY TO SOMALIA NOW, AND WOULD FAVOR US PROCEEDING WITH SURVEY TEAM.

POINTS TO BE MADE:

(THESE PARALLEL TALKING POINTS PREPARED FOR DISCUSSIONS OF AFRICA AT BONN SUMMIT)

-- WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY EMPHASIZED TO THE SOMALIS OUR VIEW
SECRET

PAGE 12 STATE 183493

THAT MILITARY SUPPORT FOR THE OGADEN INSURGENTS WAS IN-

CONSISTENT WITH SIAD'S ASSURANCES THAT SOMALIA WOULD RESPECT ITS NEIGHBORS' TERRITORY, AND COULD LEAD AT ANY TIME

TO THE INTERRUPTION OF PROGRESS TOWARD SUPPLY OF US ARMS.

-- DUE TO THE RECENT ESCALATION OF CONFLICT IN THE OGADEN, COUPLED WITH EVIDENCE OF SOMALI INVOLVEMENT WITH THE INSURGENTS, WE HAVE DEFERRED FOR THE MOMENT SENDING TO SOMALIA THE MILITARY SURVEY TEAM WE HAD BEEN DISCUSSING WITH THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT.

-- WE STILL HOPE TO BE ABLE TO SEND THE SURVEY TEAM AT A RELATIVELY EARLY DATE -- AND TO CONTINUE PROGRESS TOWARD ESTABLISHING A LIMITED MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP. WE BELIEVE OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES SHARE THIS HOPE. HOWEVER, FURTHER MOVEMENT ON THIS QUESTION WILL DEPEND ON DEVELOPMENTS ON THE GROUND, AND PARTICULARLY ON THE EVOLUTION OF SOMALIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE INSURGENTS. WE ARE CONTINUING TO WATCH CLOSELY THE SITUATION IN THE OGADEN.

6. ISSUE: RESOLUTION OF WESTERN SAHARA CONFLICT

US OBJECTIVES: TO CONVEY TO THE FRENCH OUR DESIRE TO SEE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT AND TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO PLAY A MEDIATOR ROLE IN THE DISPUTE.

FRENCH OBJECTIVES: TO CONVEY TO THE US THE NECESSITY FOR FRANCE TO MAINTAIN A POSITION OF NEUTRALITY IN THE DISPUTE BECAUSE OF ITS RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES OF THE AREA AND TO ENCOURAGE THE US TO ASSUME A MEDIATOR ROLE IN THE DISPUTE.

SECRET

PAGE 13 STATE 183493

ESSENTIAL FACTORS:

SENIOR MAURITANIAN OFFICERS STAGED A BLOODLESS COUP ON THE NIGHT OF JULY 9-10. EX-PRESIDENT OULD DADDAH IS UNDER HOUSE ARREST WITH MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET. MAURITANIA'S CONSTITUTION HAS BEEN SUSPENDED; THE PARLIAMENT DISOLVED AND THE COUNTRY'S SINGLE PARTY, MAURITANIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY, DISBANDED. THE MILITARY COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL RECOVERY (MCNR), COMPRISED OF 18 MILITARY OFFICERS, IS NOW GOVERNING MAURITANIA. LT. COL. MOUSTOPHA OULD MOHAMMED SALEK, FORMER CHIEF OF STAFF OF MAURITANIA'S ARMY, IS PRESIDENT OF THE MCNR AND REPORTEDLY LED THE COUP. THE MCNR HAS PLEDGED TO HONOR ALL OF MAURITANIA'S FOREIGN AND INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS. ON JULY 12, A NEW CABINET WAS FORMED, COMPRISED OF BOTH MILITARY OFFICERS AND CIVILIANS. A CIVILIAN ADVISORY COMMITTEE HAS BEEN FORMED TO ASSIST MAURITANIA IN ITS RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

MANY OF THE OFFICERS IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT ARE FRENCH-TRAINED AND WELL KNOWN TO THE US EMBASSY IN NOUAKCHOTT.

THEY ARE CONSIDERED TO BE PRO-WESTERN AND CONSERVATIVE. WHILE THE MCNR HAS PUBLICLY STATED ITS INTENTION TO CONTINUE GOOD RELATIONS WITH FRANCE AND CLOSE POLITICAL

RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO, MAURITANIA'S NEW LEADERS HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY WANT AN EARLY END TO THE WAR AND ARE

PREPARED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PORTIONS OF THE SAHARA ANNEXED BY THE FORMER REGIME IF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION CONTINUES TO OPPOSE MAURITANIAN ANNEXATION.

THIS CHANGE IN MAURITANIA'S POLICY ON THE WAR WAS CONVEYED TO AMBASSADOR KRYZA IN HIS MEETING ON JULY 12 WITH ISMAEL OULD AMAR, HEAD OF THE CIVILIAN ADVISORY BOARD AND A CLOSE

SECRET

PAGE 14 STATE 183493

ADVISOR TO PRESIDENT SALEK. AMAR SAID THE NEW MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT HAD ASKED HIM TO APPROACH THE US AMBASSADOR INFORMALLY FOR USG HELP IN (A) ORGANIZING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE SAHARA WAR THROUGH OUR GOOD OFFICES WITH THE ALGERIANS AND (B) WORKING WITH THE MAURITANIANS AND THE MOROCCANS IN RESOLVING WHAT COULD BE INHERENT CONFLICT IN THE MCNR'S OBJECTIVES OF PEACE IN THE WESTERN SAHARA AND CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP WITH MOROCCANS.

LATE JULY 12, AMBASSADOR KRYZA WAS CALLED IN BY PRESIDENT SALEK WHO ALSO MADE A PERSONAL APPEAL FOR US GOOD OFFICES IN SEEKING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE SAHARAN CONFLICT. WE ALSO MADE A PLEA FOR CONTINUED AND INCREASED US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND CLOSER POLITICAL TIES.

REGARDING MAURITANIA'S REQUEST THAT THE US BE A PEACE EMISSARY, WE INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR KRYZA TO INFORM PRESIDENT SALEK THAT THE US WOULD LIKE TO SEE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE WESTERN SAHARA CONFLICT, BUT BELIEVES THERE ARE OTHERS, E.G. THE FRENCH, WITH CLOSER TRADITIONAL RELATIONS WITH MAURITANIA, MOROCCO AND ALGERIA, WHO ARE BETTER SUITED TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE SUGGESTED. FURTHERMORE, FOR THE US TO ASSUME AN EMISSARY ROLE ON BEHALF OF MAURITANIA WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY OF NON-INVOLVEMENT IN THIS DISPUTE. THE MAURITANIANS COULD EXPECT SUPPORT, HOWEVER FROM THE USG, FOR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. WE DO NOT YET KNOW IF AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN ABLE TO INFORM SALEK OF OUR POSITION.

ON JULY 15, WE ASKED EMBASSY PARIS FOR A READOUT OF FRENCH ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NORTH-WEST AFRICA AND INSTRUCTED THE EMBASSY TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO APPROPRIATE FRENCH OFFICIALS.

SECRET

PAGE 15 STATE 183493

-- MAURITANIA HAS INDICATED TO THE USG IT WOULD LIKE AN EARLY END TO THE WAR AND MAY BE PREPARED TO WITHDRAW FROM

WESTERN SAHARA.

-- USG IS AWARE OF EXPLORATORY TALKS ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIAN EMISSARIES BUT WE ARE UNINFORMED ON THEIR PROGRESS.

-- THE US SUPPORTS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN THE WESTERN SAHARA.

-- THE US WISHES TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH FRANCE ON THIS ISSUE AND ARE PREPARED TO WORK TO SUPPORT FRENCH DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE SAHARA CONFLICT.

FRENCH REACTION TO ABOVE POINTS HAS BEEN NEGATIVE. THE FRENCH ARGUE THAT THE US IS BETTER PLACED TO ASSUME A MEDIATOR ROLE IN THE DISPUTE. FRANCE'S POSITION IS TO FOLLOW EVENTS IN THE AREA WITH CLOSE INTEREST BUT NOT TO TAKE ANY PARTICULAR ACTION. FRANCE'S RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE AREA NECESSITATE THAT IT OBSERVE A "SCRUPULOUS POSTURE OF NEUTRALITY", GIVEN FRANCE'S ACTIVE COMMITMENT TO PROTECT ITS CITIZENS IN MAURITANIA. THE FRENCH THINK HOWEVER, THAT SOME KIND OF NEGOTIATIONS COULD GET UNDER WAY. AFTER THE PROCESS HAS BEGUN, FRANCE MIGHT BE ABLE TO PLAY A ROLE IN MOVING THINGS ALONG. FRANCE HAS TOLD US THAT ITS HIGH PROFILE IN THE REGION PROHIBITS EVEN THE ROLE OF MESSENGER IN THIS CASE. AS TO HOW MOROCCO MIGHT REACT TO MAURITANIA'S WILLINGNESS TO WITHDRAW FROM THE SAHARA, THEY BELIEVE THE MOROCCANS' REACTION WOULD BE STRONGLY NEGATIVE. THEY THINK THAT THE NEW MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO MOVE VERY CAREFULLY WITH THE MOROCCANS ON THIS POINT.

SECRET

PAGE 16 STATE 183493

GIVEN FRANCE'S PRESENT RELUCTANCE TO PLAY AN EMISSARY ROLE IN THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS NECESSARY YOU RAISE THE ISSUE WITH THE FRENCH AT THIS TIME AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE DISCUSSED SUBJECT JULY 18. (REPORT THIS CONVERSATION WILL BE TRANSMITTED BY SEPTEL.)

POINTS TO BE MADE (IF ASKED)

-- IN VIEW OF THE RECENT MAURITANIAN COUP, HOW DO THE FRENCH NOW SEE THE SITUATION IN NORTHWEST AFRICA.

-- WHAT IS NOW THE PROBABILITY OF A NEGOTIATED PEACE SETTLEMENT.

-- THE US SUPPORTS A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT THROUGH EITHER DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS OR THROUGH THE UN.

-- IS THERE A REALISTIC, PRACTICAL WAY TO ASCERTAIN THE WISHES OF THE SAHARAN POPULATION.

-- WHO MIGHT PLAY AN EMISSARY ROLE IN ANY SETTLEMENT.

-- THE US WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TOWARDS A PEACE SETTLEMENT, BUT NOT TO TAKE THE LEAD AT THIS TIME.

-- DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THE RECENT EXPLORATORY TALKS ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA.

7. ISSUE: CHAD

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PAGE 17 STATE 183493

CHAD DISCUSSED IN SEPARATE EXDIS CABLE SENT TO PARIS 19 JULY. CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE183493
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: AF/I-JBUNCHER:DFF
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780298-0549
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197807106/baaazho.tel
Line Count: 620
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8871566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 12
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1857548
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: JOURNIAC TALKS, JULY 21
TAGS: OVIP, XA, (NEWSOM, DAVID)
To: LONDON INFO PARIS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8871566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014